THE New Republic

Let Them Play Games On Television

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Christianity and the Campus

By AMOS N. WILDER

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The Pasternak Award Was "Irresponsible"

A Communication from Hugh Massingham

DECEMBER 15, 1958

25 cents

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Washington Wire

Two-Headed Donkey

REFORMERS, we guess, are normally gloomy old curmudgeons, surveying life's idiocies with a constipated snarl. We try to maintain that professional character, but readers must pardon us—occasionally we lapse into cheerfulness. Indeed, a pleased smile kept wreathing out on our unaccustomed features over the weekend. It was the Democratic National Committee and its Advisory Council. Quite simply they behaved as though they took elections and mandates and political promises seriously. It was electrifying.

They told the South if it wanted to bolt, to go bolt. Just like that. They said they favored civil rights period. (Lyndon Johnson in his post-election, 12-point, "state-of-the-union" program, you remember, omitted civil rights altogether.) Furthermore they suggested that most of the nation's budget gap would be met if we just stopped trying to stunt the child and bought it a larger economic suit of clothes. (This monstrous thought has not yet penetrated to the Eisenhower Administration although $7.5 billion of the anticipated $12 billion budget deficit comes from recession tax losses. Get the US growth rate back to its normal percent a year and most budget problems disappear.)

Well, the shock of finding ourself in a majority was almost too much for us. Fortunately habit and discipline finally re-asserted themselves, and we were able to resume our normal scowl.

What you have to remember is that the Democratic Party is really two-headed: there is the National Committee with its Advisory Council, and there is the Johnson-Rayburn leadership in Congress, close-knit and conservative. The Johnson head won't speak to the Advisory Council head which is a rather awkward predicament, as anybody with two heads will readily understand. The Advisory Council began work January, 1957, with Truman and Adlai Stevenson as members, but Johnson and his Congressmen (save Humphrey and Kefauver) rejected invitations to join. They still boycott it. Johnson recognizes that its program implies criticism of his policy of "cooperation" and "moderation" toward the bumbling Eisenhower. Ever since the Advisory Council began it has been helping to create a new, liberal, national image of the party. One can't help hoping that if it goes on long enough the United States will ultimately have coherent political parties like other nations, instead of foggy coalitions.

Hold Firm!

THE CRITICISM of Dulles is not what he does in crises but what he doesn't do between them. Our Secretary of State has a mind as rigid as a frozen sheet. Between Berlin crises Dulles doesn't look for solutions nor does he between Quemoys. He explained and rationalized his attitude in a really remarkable speech at San Francisco last week. Just hold firm against Communism in Peking and in Moscow, he said, and there will be an "ultimate collapse of their system." If we yield an inch the world will totter, he continued, but "it can be affirmed with absolute confidence that our policies will succeed if they are steadfastly pursued."

As this is written Dulles (70) is in the hospital, and Washington is quietly reappraising the situation. Nobody doubts the courage and conviction of the indomitable old man. His press conferences here are well worth attending, for his mind is sharp and his exposition lucid. Eisenhower has made him absolute master of foreign policy and Dulles has made the Department a one-man show, with a jealous eye on subordinates. If he had to quit now, it is hard to figure out who would succeed him: Under-Secretary Douglas Dillon is perhaps his ablest assistant, but he is hardly known outside Washington. Certainly if Dulles stays, US foreign policy will be inflexible for the next two years while we wait for Communism's "ultimate collapse."

Targets for Tomorrow

IT LOOKS as though the whole Administration were going to dig in its heels for its last two years against the Democrats. There were those Hoover-like forecasts of disaster made by the President himself in the election, followed by his grim press conference comments the day after. (From what we hear, Eisenhower is withdrawing more and more from the details of government and turning them over to subordinates.) His Budget Director, Maurice Stans, now promises a "definite reduction, a very significant one" in the new budget, citing as special targets farm payments, veterans' benefits and rural electrification. This appears to sideswipe three of the most powerful pressure groups in the capital but omits labor. As though to remedy the omission, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield in a simultaneous New York appearance said it wasn't the Democrats who had won the election but the "union bosses."

It must be said for Messrs. Stans and Summerfield that they picked sympathetic audiences, one the Union League Club and the other the National Association of Manufacturers. As a nice gesture to legislative cooperation Summerfield affirmed that "America today teeters on the precipice of a labor-bossed Congress" and taunted the Democrats for their union support.

This is all very hard on Nixon. The poor chap is agonizingly trying not to be adopted as a right-wing Taft-type symbol (as against the Rockefeller "liberal" symbol), but GOP conservatives are grabbing him to their arms. Summerfield virtually plumped for Nixon before the NAM which seems an unfortunate place to launch a candidacy. The Gallup Poll shows Nixon trailing far behind Massachusetts Democrat Kennedy in a trial run.

The "Spark of Greatness"?

WHO WILL the Democrats pick for 1960? It's the biggest enigma in Washington. Now comes Eleanor Roosevelt with the comment that Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota comes closest to having the "spark of greatness" the next President needs. While by no means decisive, Mrs. Roosevelt's views are of deep interest.

T.R.B.

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Correspondence

► *Prejudice Against Farmers*

SIRS:

ONE of the favorite myths used to prejudice city people against farmers is this one: "In this fiscal year alone, the government will pay out about $5 billion to keep farm prices high." This is the customary line of the *Wall Street Jour-*

(Continued on page 23)

Defending the Court

LET NO ONE suppose that because, during the closing minutes of the last session of Congress, legislation to curb the authority of the Supreme Court failed to pass, the campaign against the Court is dead or has lost its momentum. For the past three years, the Court has been exposed to concerted and vicious attacks. Charges of insanity, depravity, Communism, treason have become commonplace. The leadership of this campaign has come, in large part, from the South. But it has gone North looking for recruits, and it has found them.

The immediate aim of the Southerners may be to undermine the Court's school desegregation order, but the target is broader than that: it is civil liberties in general. Rep. Howard W. Smith (D, Va.) will reintroduce next month HR 3 (it lost in the Senate last time by one vote), a bill to repeal the long-standing doctrine of federal preemption in the fields of concurrent federal-state jurisdiction. He will have powerful support. Columnist David Lawrence, a Northern conservative, is only one of many who have been saying that we must get rid of the notion "that the Supreme Court must legislate." (In 1937, FDR said much the same thing: we must have a "government of laws, not men.")

The reaction to this campaign on the part of responsible leaders of opinion has not been quite what one might have hoped. On the one hand, aid and comfort has come to the Know-Nothings from some very surprising quarters. Thus the Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts saw fit this past summer to issue (over dissents in their own ranks to be sure) an almost wholly unsupported broadside, criticizing the Court in vague, general terms. On the other hand, the Court has been afforded the doubtful benefit of a kind of wholesale, indiscriminate defense: Whatever the Court lays down (and however the Court lays it down) is right, because the Court speaks in the name of the Constitution. Its doctrines are not to be questioned; indeed, they are hardly a fit subject for comment. This is more or less the President's position.

Such a defense strengthens the Court's enemies, who are able to point out that the American tradition rather indicates that the Court's pronouncements and ways of doing business are as much legitimate subjects for public debate as any other question of state, and that the Court's doctrines will command broad and enduring support only as they seem worthy of support. Moreover, such wholesale defense, tending to foreclose discussion, weakens the Court itself. Here, after all, are nine men insulated from all political responsibility, receiving each day in their marble temple the natural deference of their own entourage and of the lawyers who stand before—and below—them, prevented by custom from discussing their affairs with anyone but their colleagues and law clerks. How if not through the play of outside criticism can a sense of contact with, and responsibility to, present opinion be injected to balance and reinforce a Justice's sense of responsibility to his conscience, to the teachings of those who have sat

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before him and to the tasks that will face those who sit when he is gone?

Happily, a wholly different note is struck in two distinguished recent addresses, one to the California Bar by Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School, the other at Brandeis University by Paul A. Freund, Carl M. Loeb University Professor at Harvard. Both denounce in the strongest terms "the ignorant and disgraceful billingsgate," as Mr. Freund calls it, to which the Court has been subjected. Leaders of opinion have a duty to condemn defiance of Court decrees; moreover, beyond this, certainly in the desegregation cases, the Court's decisions must be defended on their merits, as right and good.

One aspect of such a defense on the merits is, one might almost say, factual-scientific. Its point is provable. For what is in question is the process of the Court, whether it has abided by the usages of the craft in its treatment of precedent, of jurisdictional and procedural problems, and the like. The other, more substantive aspect is rather different. Particularly in the desegregation cases, it touches more nearly ultimate morality and truth. Here, nevertheless, as Dwight MacDonald has said with relation to esthetic issues, agreement is possible, since while the point "cannot be proved, it can be demonstrated, a quite different operation involving an appeal—by reason, analysis, illustration and rhetoric—to cultural values which critic and reader have in common."

Neither Dean Griswold nor Mr. Freund, however, is content to rest with a defense of the Court. And so they both proceed to a vigorous if judicious criticism of other features of the Court's work.

A number of recent majority opinions and a somewhat greater number of dissenting opinions have shown a disturbing tendency, in Mr. Freund's words, "to carry a sound principle beyond the point where it collides with a sound principle rubbing against it from the other direction"—to the point, that is, where judicial error is demonstrable. Thus, to take one instance, reason, analysis, illustration and rhetoric, appealing to shared values, can lead one to see that a state ought not to be allowed to exclude from its bar an applicant who, though once a Communist, is able to show that he has long since had a change of heart and is now attached to the Constitution. There is nothing wrong, indeed everything right, about the Court's so holding—as it has.

But it is another thing entirely to tell a state, as the Court did in *Konigsberg v. California* last year, that an applicant who, though he was pleased to assert his own good character and loyalty, refused to answer questions regarding Communist affiliations, must also be admitted to the Bar as a person of good moral character.

After all, it is only common sense to consider that such questions offer a good test of the applicant's general veracity. And the Court is not prepared to hold—and it obviously could not very well hold—that good moral character is an improper standard for Bar admission, or that attachment to the Constitution is irrelevant to it, or that Communist affiliation is irrelevant to that. The sound principle of state self-government, rubbing from the other direction, was reached here, and should have prevailed.

For the performance of its great and unique task, we should preserve, protect and defend the Court—when necessary, by criticizing its missteps.

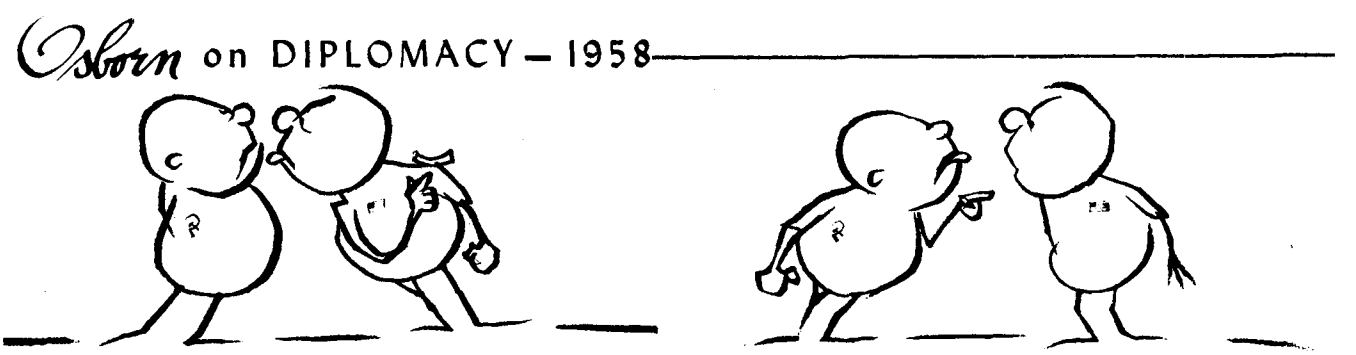
Budget Realities

THE Bureau of the Budget now estimates that the national deficit which was $3 billion last year will have grown to $12 billion by the close of business this coming June. Budget Director Maurice Stans sees "little present hope of holding expenditures in fiscal 1959 much below $80 billion"—as against an income of $67 billion.

"The hard fact, which many people fail to realize," Mr. Stans told the Union League Club of New York,

> is that 77 percent of our current budget is devoted to the cost of past wars and the present Cold War. This year the costs of present national security (military, atomic energy and mutual security) plus past wars (debt interest and veterans' benefits) amount to about $61 billion. If we deduct this from the estimated revenues of $67 billion, we would have only $6 billion left to run the rest of the government . . .

At the same time Mr. Stans was stressing the difficulties of cutting expenditures, Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, was proposing a thorough reorganization of the tax structure. "A great deal of revenue," he says, "could be provided by a broadening of the tax base, a removal of some special deductions and



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preferences, and an increase in rates on some specially favored groups."

In the last Congress, Democratic leadership agreed with the Administration that to raise the tax question would be to lift the lid on a Pandora's box. But as the realities of US obligations and needs become more evident during the coming budget debate, that fearful view should no longer be controlling.

Who Rules the House?

THE House Rules Committee is the right-wing minority's secret weapon. If that weapon is not taken out of its hands during the first week of the new Congress, liberal Democrats—however many there are—will have surrendered before the battle starts. The man who will rule is the chairman of the Rules Committee—Howard W. Smith (D, Va.), who scored 90 percent wrong on *The NR*'s analysis of voting records in the last session.

He will run the 12-man Committee, and thereby the House, because he will be able to command six of the 12 Committee votes. Any legislation not to his liking can be denied access to the floor. There are eight Democrats and four Republicans on the Committee as it now stands. But two of the Democrats—Smith and Colmer of Mississippi—are at least as reactionary as any Republican. And where in the last session some liberal legislation had the swing support of two Republican Committee members —Hugh Scott (Pa.) and Henry J. Latham (N.Y.)— neither is in the new House. The Republicans who are likely to take their place will come from the Old Guard.

Thus, if there is not to be nullification of legislative progress during the next two years, the Democratic leadership is required to limit the power of Chairman Smith. This can be done, as we pointed out in our post-election issue, only in two ways: either by re-establishing the 21-day rule, permitting any bill to be brought to the floor for debate and vote if it has been before the Rules Committee for as long as 21 days; or, by enlarging the Rules Committee to at least 15 members, so that an eight-man majority could overrule Chairman Smith. Both reforms are more than desirable, they are essential if this Congress is to do what it was elected to do.

Nepotism at the Dime

HATS OFF to Elliott V. Bell, a corporation executive but not an organization man. Mr. Bell, chairman of the executive committee of McGraw-Hill, often sounds off about the economy with views that we may not always agree with, but that are original, forthright and often frankly controversial—a rarity in a clubby world of platitudes and stuffed shirts. Mr. Bell has just resigned as trustee of the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn, a cushy lifetime sinecure, in protest at the election to the board of a son of the chairman.

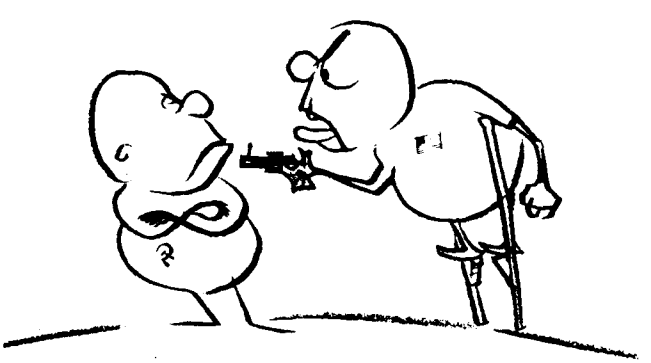
"The trustees of a mutual savings bank being self-elected, serving for life and having no stockholders to account to, are under an obligation to hold themselves to a very high standard of conduct," he said.

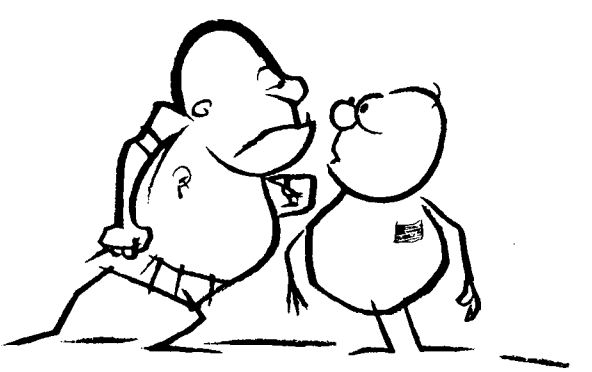
We could question Mr. Bell's implication that the standard of conduct need be any lower at, say, stockholder-owned A T & T—but no matter. What does matter is that the New York State Banking Department says it cannot forbid nepotism in the savings banks. It seems wrong for such great aggregates of other people's money ($1.2 billion at Dime Savings) to be controlled by self-perpetuating boards without even a theoretical check by the depositor-owners or the authorities. Perhaps there should be a law.

Nobody's Good Enough

WE have been listening for some months to the opinions of amateurs and experts on who could be, should be, won't or will be the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1960. And we have tentatively decided that the only *really good* candidates are dead. Among the living, one is too far out in front and another is hardly visible. One talks too much, another too little. Some are too old, some too young. If Mr. Right were to come along, he could not be nominated, and if nominated, he could not be elected.

The charming Senator Kennedy has a creditable voting record, intelligent advisers and an assured TV manner.





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But he needs aging, and why does the South like him, and why didn't he criticize Joe McCarthy? Senator Symington, then—a clean-cut figure, a family man, a commendable voting record. But where's the *oomph?* Governor Meyner has green eyes and a great many votes in New Jersey, and his wife is related to Adlai Stevenson. But what does he believe? There is, of course, Adlai himself. The Gallup Poll says he's the best known of the Democrats; he's certainly the best qualified. But no. He's putting on weight, he's had it twice, he's divorced.

So what about Senator Humphrey? Everybody knows where *he* stands. If he can out-talk Khrushchev he can out-talk Nixon; and the people in Minnesota love him. Yet . . . didn't Doris Fleeson call him a "gliberal"? Then why not pick a political President, a man of experience and parliamentary skill? Draft Lyndon Johnson. On the other hand, he's *Southern*, or almost, and votes with the oil interests. "Soapy" Williams? He's in the tradition—aristocratic but with a heart that beats for the working man. Still . . . he didn't win *big* enough the sixth time, and there are those bow ties and square dances. Alright for Michigan . . . but. A dark horse then. Joe Clark? Splendid. Refined. Courageous. But doesn't he look a little *frail?*

And so we hunt for a hero who will not be unmasked for the human he is until after the election. We have a simple but practical suggestion: let all liberal Democrats immediately cease their search for the *best* man, and start looking for the second best.

Strength or Paralysis?

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON, responding at a London press conference to allegations of weakness in President Eisenhower's leadership, is reported by the *London Times* to have said that the President "might not seem to lead vigorously, but the results spoke for themselves—for instance, over Quemoy and Matsu."

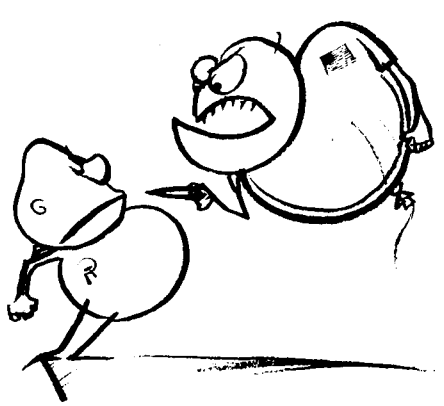
The example confirms the criticism. What a frozen leadership does is to maintain a firm stand on the position to which it is frozen. Just as it cannot advance, so it cannot retreat. One of our correspondents, referring to the weakness of recent French governments, pointed out in these pages that France repeatedly "found herself unable to move forward or back, able only to utter protests at the actions of others." The demonstrations of firmness that the Eisenhower Administration has provided so far have been demonstrations of just such paralysis.

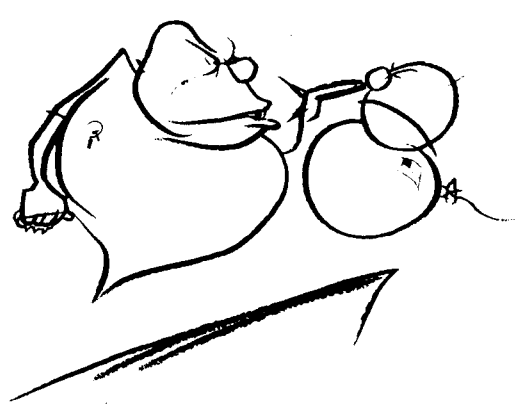
Art Buccaneering

THERE HAS BEEN a rash of stories about inflation in the arts, brought about, *Time* magazine believes, by the "buccaneer investor, who does not know what he likes but knows a good investment when he sees one." This week, a small Picasso of no consequence is on display at the Carnegie International show in Pittsburgh, priced at $60,000. In the art world, as in the commercial world, it is less important what you are than who you are. *Art News* sets the fashion (abstract expressionism) and the impressionable pay for the privilege of being *a la mode.*

A picture by an *Art News* favorite, Jackson Pollock, was bought by the Metropolitan Museum of New York within the past month for $30,000; several years ago it would have brought $1,000 or less. As *The New Republic*'s art critic suggested last July, a painting these days "is not so much an object of virtue as the painter is saint. . . . The girl who ends up with Picasso's wardrobe will have a fortune before she even touches the paintings."

The real collectors, those who buy for love, are forced to consider the cash potential of a canvas that has caught them. Each collector has a list of pictures he could have bought for so much less a short time ago, and some of them are investing over their heads just because they are afraid not to buy now, for fear prices will keep on climbing. Five years ago, one Midwest exhibitor handled an Abraham Rattner that was offered for $1,800. Last spring, it was priced at $8,000, and it has been said on some authority that "next year it will be three times that."





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Anti-Merger Enforcement

UNITED STATES District Judge Edward Weinfeld's recent decision, holding the proposed merger between Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company would violate the "anti-merger" statute, could well launch a new era in antitrust enforcement, with emphasis on merger prosecutions. This presupposes, of course, that the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission will attempt to take advantage of Judge Weinfeld's favorable interpretation of the statute (which seems likely), and that the President will ask Congress for enough money to enable these agencies to do an effective job (which seems unlikely).

It is not surprising to learn that a merger of Bethlehem and Youngstown would be in violation of the law. They are among the largest industrial corporations in the United States, ranking approximately 9th and 53rd in sales. Their combined assets are well over $2 billion. In the iron and steel industry, Bethlehem is second largest, Youngstown sixth. In terms of ingot capacity, they represent approximately 20 percent of the entire steel industry. They produce many of the same steel products and have competed actively in a number of markets. Obviously, their merger would be one of the largest in the history of our country.

But most mergers do not cast shadows as gargantuan as that of Bethlehem-Youngstown. Generally, the companies are smaller, the industry less important and the affected competition not as significant. The task of the enforcement agencies is, therefore, still difficult, as they must attempt to apply Judge Weinfeld's interpretation of the law in Bethlehem-Youngstown to mergers of lesser significance. This, we believe, these agencies will not be reluctant to do—at least at the career-man level. In the eight years since the present "anti-merger" law was passed, the Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission have brought in the neighborhood of 40 cases against mergers. This is a fairly modest number in view of the thousands of mergers occurring in that period, but we can understand this modesty in the absence of a definitive interpretation of the law. Judge Weinfeld has now supplied that definitive interpretation and a certain boldness of approach to the merger problem would now seem to be in order. But this, as the saying goes, "takes money."

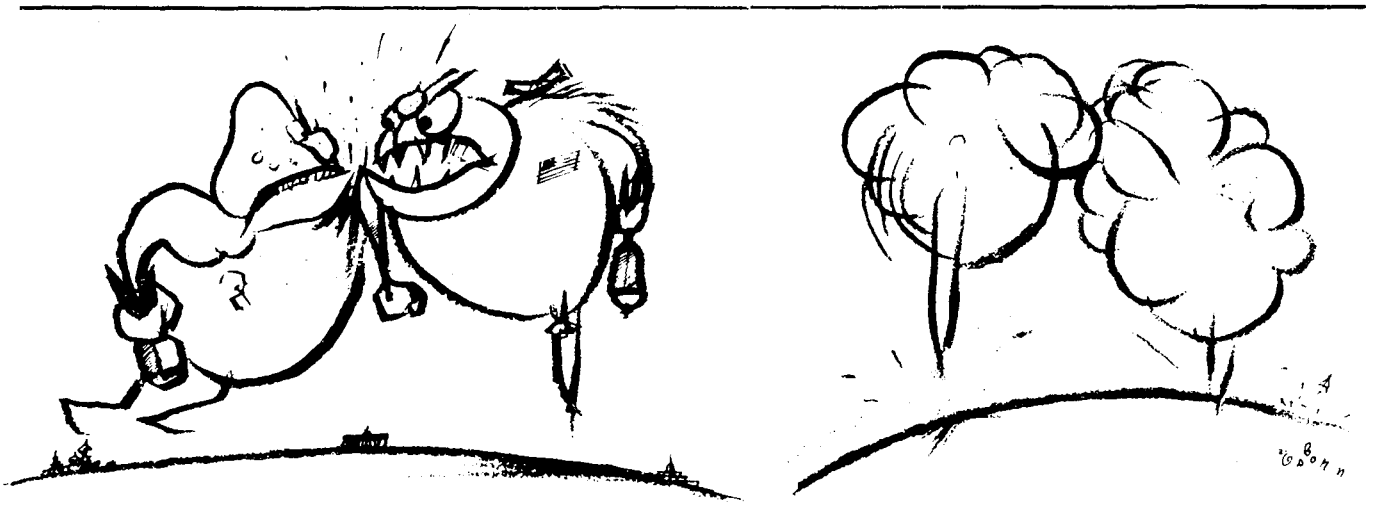
We believe the new Congress would give the President whatever he asks for to forestall further undue concentration in industry—one of the basic objectives of the anti-merger statute. The big question is, will he ask for it?

Look Broad-Minded

THE US CHAMBER OF COMMERCE has circulated an advisory letter to its members entitled: YOUR DEALINGS WITH MEMBERS OF THE NEW CONGRESS. It's heartbreaking. Businessmen are not appreciated. There is first of all a "tendency in government to look upon business as something to be taxed and regulated." Few understand that the businessman "is usually hemmed in . . . by employees who look upon the business solely as a source of income for themselves [and not a way of life?], and the more income the better; by suppliers who want highest prices for their materials [cads]; by creditors and stockholders who . . . look for security and perhaps larger income; by consumers who want better products at cheaper prices."

But if the businessman minds his manners, he can survive. "Try," advises the Chamber, "to avoid giving the appearance that you are ignoring the election returns when you express your opinions to Members of Congress. There is a general impression that the voting trend indicated a lack of support for the Conservative viewpoint. [Who said so!] Regardless of whether this is true, the man who shows a willingness to take another look at his position in the light of possibly changing conditions, is always more convincing."

We're convinced.



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A COMMUNICATION

The Award to Pasternak Was "Irresponsible"

London

IT is always disturbing to find oneself out of sympathy with *The New Republic*, especially when one's views are certain to be received with a shower of brick-bats. And yet the issue seems to me so important, and the general attitude of the West so wrong-headed and self-righteous, that I feel somebody ought to protest. I am going to disagree with you on the Pasternak affair.

Now it is always moving to watch an honest man pursued by barking mediocrities. It is not surprising that *The New Republic* gets indignant when its editor reads that *Doctor Zhivago* is "the life story of a wicked, narrow-minded enemy of the revolution who has been included in the arsenal of the reactionary press as a means of fanning the Cold War." Pasternak has "chosen the path of dishonesty and shame," says Moscow Radio, and because of this he has not only been expelled from the Soviet Writers' Union—which might deprive him of his house and his livelihood—but he is, as I write, still in danger of being forced to leave Russia. And, for Pasternak, exile would mean spiritual death.

It is a terrible story. A writer has become the victim of the Cold War, and although it is not exactly new for an artist to be sacrificed for political or religious ends, we are right to be outraged when we see it happening. All the same there are other considerations and it seems to me high time that they were stated.

A SHORT TIME AGO a British commentator perfectly put the case against *The New Republic*. Mr. Walter Lippmann, he pointed out, is a powerful critic of President Eisenhower. What would happen, he then asked, if the Russians were suddenly to give him the Stalin prize? Mr. Lippmann would at once become the center of controversy. While his friends would be embarrassed—one would dearly love to read the comments of *The New Republic* on the subject—his enemies would say that he was in the pay of the Russians and a traitor to his country. The Democrats would be weakened, the Republicans would be strengthened.

This is exactly what has been happening in Russia. I regard the award of the Nobel prize to Pasternak as utterly irresponsible. Before the controversy there were clearly forces in the USSR who were struggling to get a more liberal policy. What is more they were, so far as I can judge, having some success. Take, for instance, the official letter turning down *Doctor Zhivago*. Pasternak was not called a "hyena." He was not accused of treachery. The reasons given, though we may disagree with them, are moderately put. When we remember the vitriolic terms of the past, this is one of the most hopeful signs that has ever come out of Russia. Or let me put the point in another way. If this controversy had occurred when Stalin was alive, does anybody doubt what would have been the consequences? By this time Pasternak would have disappeared as Babel did during the purges of the Thirties. Pasternak would never have been heard of again. Today he is still alive. He still has his house. And he has even been interviewed by foreign journalists.

THE ATTACK ON PASTERNAK seems to have been led by Mr. Surkov, a fanatical Communist and the head of the Soviet Writers' Union. What is important to notice is that his views made very little headway until Pasternak was given the Nobel prize. This was just what Mr. Surkov wanted, since it enabled him to shift his ground. Instead of having to defend his literary criticism of *Doctor Zhivago*, he was able to make a political issue out of it and thus appeal to the Stalinist Old Guard. To place Pasternak in an appallingly dangerous position and at the same time to give his enemies comfort and aid hardly seem very clever tactics.

Nor is this all. There are in Russia, as there are in every society, a number of uncommitted people—people who must have been deeply puzzled, who felt that Pasternak was a man of talent and could not decide whether the charges against him were true or false. The Swedes have probably swept them

> IT IS DIFFICULT *to recall a work in which heroes with pretensions to higher spirituality, in years of great events, were so concerned with, and talked so much about, food, potatoes, firewood and every sort of creature comforts and discomforts. . . . Doctor Zhivago . . . is a type of man full of the feeling of his own exclusiveness and self-sufficient value, a man far from the people and ready to betray the people at a difficult moment, turning aside from their sufferings and their affairs. It is a type of "highly intelligent" citizen, peaceful when he is not concerned, easily irritated when he is concerned, and ready in his thoughts, and in his actions as well, for any injustice toward the people as soon as he personally begins to feel the slightest injustice, real or imaginary, toward himself. There were such people, and there were not a few of them. The quarrel with you is not about whether they did or did not exist, but about whether they are worth the one-sided apology of which your novel is full; are they the flower of the Russian intelligentsia, as you by all the means of your talent strive to represent Dr. Zhivago, or are they its disease? . . . If you are still in a state to think about this seriously, think about it. In spite of everything, that is what we want.*
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> —From the September, 1956, letter of the editors of the Soviet magazine *Novivy Mir*, rejecting Pasternak's novel, *Dr. Zhivago*.

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all into the anti-Pasternak camp. Is that what we wanted to do?

Pasternak's enemies in Russia believe the Swedes gave him the Nobel prize for political reasons, and we ought to be sufficiently objective to realize that they have some excuse for thinking this. The Nobel prize has never yet been awarded on the strength of a single novel. It will be said, of course, that the Swedes were also thinking of Pasternak's poetry, and the answer is that a good deal of it has never even reached the West. It has been privately circulated inside the Soviet Union. In any case we can surely all agree that Pasternak would not have been given the Nobel prize if he had not written *Doctor Zhivago*.

James Joyce might legitimately have been given the Nobel prize for *Ulysses* or T. S. Eliot for *The Waste Land*: whatever we may feel about these works, there is surely no doubt that they have explosively changed contemporary thinking. No serious writer of today is uninfluenced by what Joyce and Eliot have done. But Pasternak? There is nothing technically exciting about *Doctor Zhivago*. Rather the contrary. It is a rambling, even an old-fashioned novel where people come on and off as they did a hundred years ago.

NOR SHOULD WE suppose that the committee which awards the Nobel prize has the same divine origin as the pronouncements that came from Mount Sinai. One or two of the committee's judgments have been distinctly curious. Sir Winston Churchill is probably the greatest Englishmen who ever lived. It is doubtful whether there would be a free world to fight about if he had not rallied the British in 1940. But to award him the Nobel prize for literature, to say that he is a master of English prose, would certainly seem to be a very odd conclusion.

Doctor Zhivago has been compared with *War and Peace*, and nothing could be more misleading. Tolstoy is careful to establish his characters as soon as they appear: within a few pages we not only know where they stand in society: we remember their tricks of speech, their spiritual attitude, the color of their eye-lashes. We never stumble over the queer Russian names or turn back to find out who somebody is. Pasternak's characters are so vaguely sketched that as soon as they are out of sight they are out of mind.

Of course, he makes some fine and illuminating remarks: there are unexpected scenes that bring the revolution to life. But there are also banalities that ought to put the sensitive reader on his guard. "It is only in bad novels," he writes, "that people are divided into two camps and have nothing to do with each other. In real life everything gets mixed up! Don't you think you'd have to be a hopeless nonentity to play only one role all your life, to have only one place in society, always to stand for the same thing?" Pasternak can do better than this, but even in the more impressive passages, he seldom seems to me to rise to the Level of Bunin or Babel, two writers who have not only greater gifts but who should also be remembered for their integrity and courage. Babel stood up to Stalin and died for his beliefs. And he was never given a prize of any sort.

HUGH MASSINGHAM

Khrushchev's Long-Term Objectives in Germany

Bonn

IT WOULD BE very mistaken to suppose that the Soviet plan for a "solution" of the Berlin problem—as outlined in the notes delivered on November 27 to the three Western Powers with a stake in Berlin, and to the East German Government—brings any real hope of a relaxation of tension in Germany as a whole and Berlin in particular. Nor does it offer a crumb of comfort to those constructive advocates of general political and military disengagement in Central Europe. For a variety of reasons the Khrushchev-Ulbricht plan for Berlin cuts across constructive proposals, and is—in any event—utterly unacceptable to the 52 million West Germans and to the 2.5 million West Berliners.

First, what are the Soviet proposals as they stand? Within a period of six months West Berlin would be given the status of a "free city." US, British and French garrisons would be withdrawn. The city's communications with the Federal Republic—the life-lines of road, railway, canal and "air-corridors"—would be regulated by the East Germans. The "free city" would be demilitarized. It would be guaranteed by the former occupying powers and by the East and West German Republics. If necessary there could be an additional United Nations guarantee. The Russian statement asked only one thing of the West Berliners—they must cease from participating in activities hostile to the Communist states. This referred to the numerous organizations in Berlin which collect information about Eastern Germany—East German Deputy Prime Minister Walter Ulbricht has assessed their number at between 50 and 70.

The reasons why this Soviet "solution" of the Berlin problem is unacceptable to the people of Western Germany and West Berlin have by now been made clear. In the first place, the solution applies only to West Berlin, and not to East Berlin with its two-fifths of the area of Greater Berlin and its 1.3 million inhabitants. A "free" West Berlin would be militarily defenseless. It can, of course, be argued that it is already militarily defenseless, for practical purposes. The

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Allied garrisons add up to one weak division, and there are 22 Soviet and 7 East German divisions surrounding Berlin at present. But this misses an important point of Communist technique. One weak division is sufficient to prevent the sort of civil "uprising" which could easily be staged. It can secure Berlin against an act of aggression which would still not be an act of war. In East Berlin alone are 30,000 members of the East German armed "factory-guards." How long would a "Putsch-conscious" free city remain resolutely attached to the West?

Then, again, East German control over communications would mean a number of things. The bolt-hole for East German refugees—who are arriving in West Berlin at the rate of 3,000 a week and are flown from there to the Federal Republic—would be closed. West Berlin would cease to afford a safe meeting-place for East and West Germans, would cease to transmit its notions of democratic freedom to the 17 million East Germans, would cease to supply the free world with information about them. Paradoxically, the superimposing of what might look like more normal conditions on Berlin would mean the slow decay of its proud independence of spirit. For the pressure on its constricted, artificial boundaries would be continuous. There would be no counter-pressure. None would be allowed.

Finally, the Soviet note of November 27 to the East German government contained one interesting hint. Eastern Germany, it suggested, would be able to meet the needs of the free city in foodstuffs and raw materials. That is perfectly true. Except for hard coal and certain luxury goods, Eastern Germany could meet *all* the free city's needs. But economic integration with Eastern Germany would merely abnormalize the free city's political status. It could bring the day nearer, very quickly, when the East Germans could ask for a revision of its new status.

WHAT, then, are the purposes behind the Soviet plan? There is the usual grain of truth behind Khrushchev's assertion that Berlin is a "source of discord and danger." Clearly the Russians would like to close down the West Berlin radio stations, the offices of Radio Free Europe, of the "Association of Free Jurists" which collects information in Eastern Germany, of the refugee-reception organizations which "process" East Germans and pass them on to a new free existence in the West. The blocking of the main escape-route of the East German refugees would, of its own, have considerable effects. It would keep thousands of technicians, doctors, teachers and other members of the "elite" in the East German Republic. It would resign thousands of ordinary workers to making the best of things in their present homes. It would tighten the grip of the Ulbricht regime on Eastern Germany as a whole, and it would gradually enhance its prestige.

But what are Mr. Khrushchev's longer-term objectives? Two immediate indications are that he is still in a hurry, and that he is ready to press for a "solution" of the Berlin problem quite independently from that of Germany as a whole. It is wrong to assume—like the West German Stock Exchanges in Frankfurt and Dusseldorf have done—that the six months' time limit which Khrushchev has granted for Allied acceptance of his proposal means that he does not regard the Berlin problem as pressing. On the contrary, it would take very nearly six months to implement his plan—if it were accepted by the Western Powers. He calls for conferences between the Western Powers and the West Germans, between the German and British authorities in Berlin, between the Great Powers and between the two German states. Conferences take time. Khrushchev is really in a hurry.

The second indication of this is his failure to link Berlin in any way with the wider problem of Germany as a whole. Is this because he is no longer so interested in the wider problem? That is perfectly possible. For the gradual integration of the whole of Berlin in the East German Republic would do more than any other single thing to consolidate that regime in power and turn Eastern Germany into a standard piece in the mosaic of satellitedom. The editor of *Die Welt*, Hans Zehrer, wrote portentously that "he who has Berlin has Germany, and he who has Germany has far more." There is some truth in this windy evocation, even though Western Germany would exist placidly enough without Berlin for a time. But it would be a weaker Western Germany spiritually, and it would feel less community of purpose with the Western Powers. The eventual loss of Berlin to the East German Republic would be interpreted by thinking Germans as attributable to Western weaknesses, by unthinking Germans as attributable to Western treachery.

A stable East German Republic would be a suitable bedfellow for satellite Poland and Czechoslovakia. The "firming-up" of the satellite bloc is a much more attainable objective than the extension of Communist influence over the whole of Germany. And, it must never be forgotten, the Poles and the Czechs are probably the last people in the world who want to see a reunified Germany.

This may be the crux of the Soviet *demarche* over Berlin—that the Russians do not merely realize that their plan for a "German Confederation" of the two equally entitled states will never gain Western approval, but that they are no longer really interested in that idea. The Berlin crisis gives them the chance of consolidating behind the Elbe, while not depriving themselves of eventual opportunities for breaking out to the West. And in the meantime they can build up their East German base.

The problem of what the Western Powers should do in this situation is still not insoluble. A real initiative to obtain German reunification has still to come from the West. Nor is there any further need to hang back over a summit conference. Western diplomacy must sally out from its defensive positions. This is the time for reexamination of the best plans of the apostles of disengagement and for the presentation of constructive proposals for Germany, whose refusal would brand the Russians as the real opponents of German unity.

TERENCE PRITTIE

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US Aid to India— How Much Is Enough?

by MATTHEW J. KUST

The Communists are proving their case in big countries like Russia and China. We shall have to prove our case, that material progress can be had with civil liberty, in a big country. . . . This demonstration can best be made in India, and there is little doubt in my mind that if we and our Western partners could underwrite and assure the success of Indian development, it would make a world of difference. . . . It would put an end to the enervating feeling of fatality and inevitability, to the sense that Communism is the only wave of the future. If there is any other way of meeting the Communist challenge in Asia, I have not heard of it.

—WALTER LIPPMANN, November 12

An amendment I sponsored with John Cooper of Kentucky, which would have put the United States in support of the success of the Indian Five Year Plan . . . passed after rather serious debate in the Senate but was dropped in conference. My judgment is today we could perhaps pass (that) . . .

—SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY, "Meet the Press," November 9.

LET us imagine that the United States and other Western governments now determine to "underwrite and assure the success of Indian development": What must go into such an effort? How much more would be required of us? In my view the United States' share cannot be less than $3 billion over a seven-year period covering the remaining two years of India's Second Five Year Plan and the full Third Five Year Plan ending in 1966. Yet, in this critical year of 1958, the total of our hastily-improved loans has been $325 million—nearly half of that sum repayable in badly-needed dollars, and all repayable according to a timetable which bears no relation to the probable repayment capacity of any underdeveloped country. For its part, as I have already argued in these pages (*NR*, Jan. 20), India must undertake major agricultural tax reforms to increase its domestic revenues; but such reforms are unlikely to come under non-Communist auspices in the absence of massive US assistance now.

India's foreign exchange deficit—which prompted the emergency US loans this past year—has been aggravated as a result of the international recession. Foreign exchange balances have dwindled to a low $420 million. The shortage of foreign exchange is going to get worse as a result of the monsoon failure last year and of a food production shortage, estimated at 10 million tons, which will necessitate increased food grains imports. And food scarcity in an underdeveloped country means inflation with its destructive effect on internal financing.

Remarkably little thought has been given by our government or the international lending agencies to the basic question of the terms of repayment. Yet if present repayment arrangements are not altered, India's third and subsequent Five Year Plans may become impossible to finance. Both US and World Bank loans have for the most part been for relatively short periods and repayment installments in foreign exchange are becoming due and accumulating annually.

The 20 loans totalling over $500 million made by the World Bank to India during the past 10 years will be largely repayable during the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66). The International Monetary Fund loan of $200 million made last year must be repaid by 1962. The $150 million loan made by the Export-Import Bank last spring also falls due during the Third Plan. The same is true of the two Development Loan Fund loans in the amount of $175 million, although, with respect to these loans, India can at least choose to repay in rupees. Other US development loans during 1955-1957 (made prior to the creation of the DLF) by the International Cooperation Administration amounting to $130 million are in the same category. Additional foreign debts, public and private, will also become repayable, thereby syphoning off more of India's foreign exchange. In total, the amount of repayments in foreign exchange due during the Third Plan period may well exceed $1 billion—equalling or even exceeding the amount of US foreign aid India will have received for the Second Plan!

Since India's rate of economic development is not likely to generate savings and foreign exchange earnings that would permit these repayments—while financing even greater imports of capital goods and technical services to sustain accelerated economic development under the Third Plan—the alternatives confronting India will be to decrease its rate of economic development and risk political disaster, or to seek more external assistance to finance both the repayments and increased imports. But the latter alternative, under the present financial assistance available to India from the West, will merely compound India's despair under the *Fourth* Five Year Plan!

Not only in India, but in most of the other underdeveloped countries, the need for capital goods and technical assistance from abroad during the first years of development is so great that any added loan repayments

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in foreign exchange create an insupportable burden. That is why it seems to me so evident that repayment of loans should be spread over a 50-year period. Repayment should not even start for at least 25 years so that the underdeveloped country may decrease its import needs as industrialization progresses and increase its exports of manufactures—permitting a favorable balance of trade with which to earn the foreign exchange necessary to repay the loans.

THIS should have been clear from the very beginning. For it is, after all, one of the lessons of American economic development. The US received substantial financial aid from abroad in the early stages of industrialization, most of it in the form of permanent investment or long-term debt. The best example is the 40-50 year railroad bonds which were held by British and Europeans. (To keep matters in perspective one may note that India would have to receive about $100 billion—after making due allowance for greater investment costs and greater population—in order to secure foreign help equivalent to that received by the United States). Contrast this with the World Bank loans to the Indian Railways, repayable during a 10-year period after 5 years of grace; or our DLF loans, repayable in 20-year installments which begin immediately. As US productive capacity grew and we shifted from a debtor to a creditor nation, the repayment of our foreign investments and debts became quite painless. There would appear to be no reason why this experience should not guide us in our economic relations with the underdeveloped countries.

In the light of untenable existing repayment policies, the Administration's plans for channeling large portions of future economic assistance to India and other underdeveloped countries through the international finance agencies—by augmenting their resources—may have little value. How the aid is channeled is less important than persuading the agencies concerned to change their policies from short- to long-term loans.

Moreover, our fitful efforts to meet periodic foreign exchange crises should be replaced by a longer-range and thus more realistic program. These economic bail-outs are demoralizing to Indians and permit no sound basis for planning. Merely to assure India foreign exchange solvency through March, 1959, as we are now doing, or even until the end of the Second Five Year Plan, leaves Indian planners in mid-air. With no notion of what to count on from the West, they must scale down the Third Five Year Plan now in preparation; and in so doing, they are, of course, endangering the present Indian political order.

The precise amounts of aid that are required can be arrived at only after a new series of discussions and consultations with Indian planners. But it can be roughly estimated that the US figure would be at least the $3 billion I have suggested, unless the contributions of other Western governments prove much larger than anticipated. Such assistance would most probably require special Congressional authorization.

It may be argued that special Congressional action is not needed; that the Development Loan Fund can provide enough aid to India if it is given enough money by the Congress; and that although the Fund does not make long-term loans, there is nothing in the law that says it may not. However, for the Fund to do this, a basic policy change would have to be made. It would not be enough, as some contend, for the Loan Fund to continue its policy of short-term loans but shift to exclusive repayment in rupees. For the inevitable result would be an accumulation by the US of fantastic and embarrassing sums of rupees. Our government would become embroiled in internal monetary and fiscal policy decisions for which no outside power can afford to incur direct responsibility, and might very well at some point hold more rupees than the government of India. The foreign currencies accumulated to date by the Treasury are already creating enough difficulties around the world.

Merely adding to the capital of the Loan Fund, moreover, will not make it possible for India to plan soundly for its Third Plan. About 50 countries would be competing for the increased funds. Any disproportionate allocation to India without specific Congressional mandate would arouse more of the kind of resentment and recrimination from other countries which we have already experienced with respect to the two present DLF loans to India. The Congress, of course, could earmark adequate funds for India within the Loan Fund appropriation. This might be a more expedient approach than separate legislation for India, but one or the other is clearly in order.

IN addition to a $3 billion program to meet economic development and foreign exchange needs, the US should greatly expand its food surplus program. India's recent Food Grains Enquiry Committee, after properly taking into account population growth, increased incomes and other pertinent factors affecting food consumption, estimates a minimum annual need by 1961 (the end of the Second Plan) of 79 million tons of food grains. The Committee concludes that, at best, domestic production can be expected to reach 77.5 million tons, leaving a chronic shortage of 1.5 million tons. It adds, however, that cyclical variations as high as 7 percent can be expected in some years because of bad monsoons and other natural calamities. This adds about 5 million tons of food grains to the chronic shortage in bad years.

These projections, if anything, must be considered conservative: production during 1957-58 was only 62 million tons, which is, as already noted, about 10 million tons

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short of the demand estimated by the Committee. India must be assured at least 5 million tons of food from abroad annually until the end of the Third Plan. A realistic US program should, therefore, make available to India from our agricultural surpluses up to about $500 million annually in food grains. This year, under the existing P.L. 480 surplus program, we have agreed to supply at best 3 million tons of food, valued at $238 million. This part of our aid program should be handled on a grant basis outside the purview of existing surplus programs. India should not be burdened with debt for food when it is so easy for us to supply it from our surpluses.

Finally, it would be highly useful if all of us were to re-assess the Administration's emphasis on increasing the flow of private investment to the underdeveloped countries. This emphasis is sound in the sense that technical services for the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries can come in the case of the West only from private firms. Investment guarantees and substantial tax concessions to alleviate undue risks and augment profit margins are necessary to induce the flow of American investment and technical services to the underdeveloped countries. The Boggs Committee hearings in the past week have brought forth various proposals in this and related areas of foreign economic policy. But it was evident in administration testimony that the Treasury Department with its orthodox approach to the tax laws and its unwarranted fear of a loss of revenues is effectively resisting such tax concessions.

In any case a heavier flow of private capital and technical services, while vital as a means of transmitting our technology to these countries, is by itself no answer to India's basic development problem. If our aid is to pay off in stability and growth we must extend government-to-government aid on the scale I have outlined. Anything less is likely to prove futile. Indeed, one often wonders whether an inadequate program, destined to end in failure and disillusionment in both countries, is worth having at all.

Christianity and the Campus

by AMOS N. WILDER

ANYONE interested in religion and the intellectuals, or religion in education, could not have asked for a better exhibit than was offered last April in the animated discussion that arose in the Harvard yard. For two or three weeks the university was convulsed. Beginning with a controversy affecting the campus Memorial Church, all angles of religion at Harvard, past and present, came under review. No other explanation is possible for the intensity if not virulence of the debate than that some kind of avoidance or repression had preceded it, no doubt the peculiar kind of repression characteristic of academic and perhaps peculiarly Harvardian taboos. Yet the fever passed as rapidly as it arose. The president was quoted in the sequel as saying that the discussion was a "flash of light that brings a devastating clarity. It demonstrates that Harvard can have a storm blow up, and can survive; that is what makes Harvard."

The storm lit up a lot of things with devastating clarity. The controversy was as interesting for the light it threw on wider religious attitudes today as for its bearing on university matters. Whatever the immediate occasion, the perfervid and ramifying character of the discussion suggested that something new was happening in the religious scene. Perhaps one can say that the rising tide of the current Protestant renewal, whether as understood or misunderstood, had washed up upon one of our great redoubts of learning and the reaction was staggering.

What came to light was the always uneasy co-existence in American life, the tacitly suppressed conflict, of the old Puritan heritage on the one hand and the robust rationalist and skeptical tradition of the founding fathers on the other, a legacy which in all periods of our history has been allergic to religious obscurantism and divisiveness. There are of course other religous strands in the complex skein of our society but the tension of these two is an old one. In New England the history of this conflict has been specially marked by the anti-Calvinist, and anti-Trinitarian and transcendentalist reactions of the past. And in the American college the tension appears with special clarity no doubt because both poles here are more sophisticated, and for that matter, overlapping.

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In this Cambridge episode, in any case, this hidden conflict certainly came into the open. The emancipated rationalism tracing to the Enlightenment is doubled in the American university by the skepticism proper to scientific method, and this is redoubled by the understandable bitterness of intellectuals with regard to many features of institutional religion today. In the eyes of many modern intellectuals contemporary religious practice appears not only stultifying and authoritarian but sheerly incompresensible. On the other hand, religious interests at Harvard are also sophisticated, which is even more puzzling to the agnostics: they want religion to fall into a formally dogmatic or obscurantist type which they can classify. They can respect and reject Catholicism: here is a massive cultural organism and tangible authority. They can make sense of fundamentalism; it enters the arena with solid propositions unacceptable though they are. But a creative and vital Protestantism which is sophisticated about religious language and symbols baffles them, especially because it is just as disabused about religious institutions and religiosity as they are. They cannot but see this kind of Christianity as disingenuous. They are uncomfortable in the presence of a vigorous and fluid form of the tradition in which the usual normative creeds and doctrines are dissolved in a process of reformulation.

For what gives a new acuteness today to the old tension in our colleges between the agnostic intellectual and the religious legacy is the new Reformation now in course in Protestantism. What is vaguely spoken of as neo-orthodoxy (it has many forms), the new grasp of the substance of the tradition, the ecumenical movement with its world-wide vigor in doctrine, worship and social realism, the disengagement of the church from secular complacencies, the repudiation of religious sentimentalism, the new realism with regard to the American Adam and his moral illusions—all this represents a growing impact in university life as well as elsewhere and is vaguely sensed as a threat in academic circles. Actually it is only a threat to rigidity in either learning or religion; the vitality of religious faith originally fostered the college and the university and has often renewed their intellectual power. Higher education might well take alarm if the new vigor of religion took the form of revivalistic or dogmatic anti-intellectualism. But the current deepening of Protestantism as one finds it in university divinity schools and many others, in university departments of religion and those of many colleges, in the movement for church unity, and in the more influential theologians in this country, has no relation to the current popular religiosity. In fact it is its most severe critic.

The alarm that accentuated the religious controversy at Cambridge was acute for another reason. Academic liberalism with its values of objectivity and dispassionateness, if not neutralism, is threatened from within by strictly intellectual forces. Scholars, scientists, critics and historians have long lived in a secure world of departmental immunities and unchallenged ideas about method. Their younger colleagues are revising the presuppositions about scientific work and inter-disciplinary frontiers. Social thinkers and theologians like Temple, Niebuhr, Tillich and Buber today have plenty of allies in college departments.

THE ISSUE at Harvard, as those who read this Journal recall, arose first over the Memorial Church and the question as to whether or in what form private services, weddings and funerals, could appropriately be held there for those belonging to non-Christian faiths. The Harvard Corporation, though reaffirming the "essentially Christian character" of the Memorial Church, denied however that the university thus intends to "assert the validity of the tenets of any denomination or creed" and agreed that "such private services may be conducted in the Memorial Church by an official of an individual's own religion when this is desired, provided that he is willing to do so notwithstanding the church's essentially Christian character." This ruling, representing not a reversal but a broadening of a long-standing policy, was generally approved in the university, though there were those who would have preferred to see the church dissociated from any specifically Christian connection.

A strictly sociological observation can be made here. There is increasing use of school and college chapels for weddings, baptisms and funerals, and not only by those connected with the school in question. This reflects the fact that an increasing number especially of intellectuals no longer have a parish church relation. Lacking a church or synagogue connection many will prefer the less formally ecclesiastical setting of a school or college or seminary chapel for such ceremonies. In the case of marriage, such individuals evidently desire a religious ceremony rather than the services of a justice of the peace. In the case of funerals similarly, a chapel occasion is preferred to one in a funeral parlor. The situation points to the alienation of many from the religious institutions but also to their continued acknowledgment of the religious tradition itself.

The increasing use of academic chapels by those of non-Christian background indicates this same detachment of many from the synagogue or other institutional group. It was of interest in the Harvard discussion that representatives of one of the leading Jewish seminaries in this country as well as of the Islamic group in Cambridge both urged that the Christian identity of the Memorial Church should be safeguarded. This was understandable: the religious institutions are not happy when their detached or disaffected members seek non-ecclesiastical or less formal religious auspices for such occasions as these. Yet much can be said from the strictly religious point of

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view for a special ministry open in this as in other ways to a college chapel, provided always that the parties are not irresponsible in seeking this form of religious sanction. The hospitality of such a chapel for a religious ceremony should not be sought by Christians or any others if all that is desired is a socially acceptable function. If the building in question is defined as Christian and not seen as a shrine of all faiths or as an academic assembly hall, those who avail themselves of it will wish to take this into account.

Whether a college chapel today should be defined as in a special sense Christian is, however, a debatable point with many, even in those institutions which were founded as Christian colleges. The question may take different forms. In one case an old college may be building a new chapel. Its policy may be entirely interconfessional. In another case an existing chapel has been viewed as Christian for generations; suddenly to redefine it as not Christian would seem to be taking the axe to a taproot of the school's sentiment and vitality. The undergraduate college will offer one problem; the university another.

In the Harvard discussion much was made of the fact that the whole sociological and religious picture has changed since the middle of the 19th Century not to mention our 17th Century origin. The make-up of the student body and faculty, indeed of alumni and governing bodies, has so changed in point of religious affiliation and outlook that a Protestant definition of the chapel can be seen as anachronistic. To maintain the Christian identity of the Memorial Church today thus seems anomolous and divisive. According to this view, the church should offer itself as an altar or sanctuary for all faiths, including the most tenuously spiritual.

It was of interest to see who sided with the view that the church should be divested of its special Christian character. It is not surprising that many argued this way for whom religion was a matter of indifference. One can also appreciate this position as held by those who were primarily concerned to avoid any divisiveness in the household of learning. Again, we can see the logic of this view for those left-wing churches whose members tend to see all the higher religions as essentially alike, and who prefer to draw the line of distinction in these matters between liberalism and dogma or between reason and superstition.

What was more surprising was the agreement with this open, non-divisive attitude of some who belong to our theologically and ritually traditional churches. The churchman who is consciously restrictive with regard to his own altar or body of communicants lined up with the tolerant when it came to the college chapel. He did so because from his point of view a service in a school or college chapel—unless that chapel is consecrated according to his own usage—can hardly be of true churchly character. Why then should not such a chapel be freely used by all? The free churchman on the other hand will see a Christian service in a college chapel or a summer camp setting as having the same momentous character as one in a parish church and carrying with it the same claim on the integrity of the worshipper.

This issue of wide open eclecticism in an academic chapel forces those responsible back upon fundamental theological considerations. If as in the Harvard case the building in question is defined by long tradition as "essentially Christian," it is not easy to see how it can be redefined either by formal decision or by tacit change of custom as completely non-confessional and inter-faith. To do so is to deprive the edifice of its *mana*, its "charge," its worshipful integrity. It then takes on the neutral emptiness of the living room of a justice of the peace. As two professors wrote to the *Crimson* (neither of whom was carrying a brief for a rigid position):

> A church is not a cafeteria in which all religions may be served to all comers. Any church is some church. Whether it was proper for the memorial to the Harvard dead of all faiths to have been given the form of a Protestant church is not now the issue. The Memorial Church was in fact dedicated as a Protestant church and as such has its own order of worship and other rules. It has its own sacred symbols; its cross is not something to shift around like a piece of stage scenery.

This attitude is easily chargeable with dogmatism. Unquestionably it has some divisive implications. The appeal of a wide inclusiveness is at first much the more plausible. But general tolerance, amicableness and good feeling are not to be sought at the expense of clarity, and least of all in the responsible atmosphere of higher education. A university thrives more on honestly faced tensions and pluralisms than on the covering up of issues. A distinction is to be made between a blanket tolerance and a costly one which insists on frank confrontation of radical differences. Interfaith patterns should be lived with creatively by honoring the responsible convictions of the parties and not obscured by an indifferentism which sometimes appears even in religious groups.

A Protestant position on this matter today will thereafter be more catholic and hospitable toward other responsible faiths, in part because it acts from a position of strength. The implications of this for a Protestant Divinity School is that it will welcome Jews, Catholics, Orthodox, Moslems, etc., to its faculty (though the welcome might not be reciprocated). The implications for a Christian chapel in a college are that services for other faiths are to be welcomed where responsibly requested and when the distinctive values of such a Christian chapel or church are not thereby blurred. We have all heard of war situations abroad in which Catholics, Protestants and Jews placed their buildings at one another's service when this or that congregation had been bombed out. Near Frankfurt-am-Main there is a church

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where under a common roof Catholic and Protestant services have been held for generations. In all such cases, however, we do not have a blurring of convictions and traditions but special courtesies and charities pending a desired and ultimate reconciliation.

THE discussion of religion on the Harvard yard, as in similar controversial campus situations today, has shown us how widespread is the misunderstanding of contemporary Christian life and thought. Many scholars and scientists are so conditioned by their training and specializations that they hardly know what has happened. Their picture of Christianity is the one they had acquired when they left Sunday School in their teens or when they revolted in college from the stifling forms of belief in which they were brought up. They are capable grammarians, ideologues, cataloguers of phenomena, statisticians of knowledge, clerks in the emporium of learning. But this is a far cry from humane wisdom or discernment in the world-drama.

Many even of our first-rate scientists and masters of learning are veritable innocents in the field of religion. They live in a different solar system, in admirable self-denial and single-mindedness. The human religious problem is buried for them beneath a life-time pre-occupation with specialized disciplines. The less imaginative type evidences a kind of arrested development. Until retirement, with a contagious boyish zest, they starve their souls and devote themselves to playing with ever new combinations of this or that glorified mechano-set, all, indeed, very useful for the extensions of the frontiers of science and the national defense.

The academic agnostic supposes often that religion is largely a matter of a theory of nature. The God-question is for him one of physics and astronomy or of the ultimate constituents of matter. Characteristic also is the similarly 18th Century point of view that the truth or falsehood of religion is a matter of clear propositions, rational or irrational concepts, intellectualized dogma. All in all, there is suspicion of the symbolic and imaginative dimensions of culture which often carries with it a deafness not only to religion but to literature and the arts.

If one can take the Harvard discussion as somewhat typical we can say that in American college faculties two points of view, each one persuasive and admirable, will be found among the more responsible scholars. I have in mind now the whole question of religion on the campus and not just the chapel issue. On the one hand we have what probably represents a majority view. This majority, which includes many of the most distinguished scholars, is that of an agnostic but devoted concern for learning and the search for truth. They stand for the ideal of a non-divisive pluralism in this quest, for freedom from any kind of pressure or authoritarianism. At the height of the Harvard controversy the intervention of such a group called for a complete openness of attitude in the university on the religious question, something which they spoke of as the "Harvard of William James." Here is expressed the great university tradition of unprejudiced objectivity and freedom in the community of learning. Much of this the churchmen and theologians in the faculties could fully accept, but not the presuppositions that go with it. For the hidden sleeper in this ostensible freedom and tolerance is that wittingly or unwittingly it opens the door wide to positivist indoctrination and dogmatic relativism. In this stand for an untrammeled pursuit of truth, safeguards are set up against authoritarian pressures of all kinds including those of religion but *not* against equally authoritarian negations.

The other admirable position, one rooted in the history of the medieval as well as the Anglo-Saxon university, while accepting much of the above calls for something more. It asks for full recognition, in ways appropriate to today, of the religious heritage of the college or university, and of our society, as a profoundly corrective factor in this same search for truth. This demand bears not only on such specifically religious features of a campus as its chapel or Divinity School but also upon the undergraduate curriculum. It asks that our vital religious traditions —to the same degree at least as our political and democratic traditions—should be responsibly dealt with. They should have full freedom in the open market of higher education and learning to make their impact and be assessed and criticized like all the other main forces of culture and the intellectual life.

This means more than a merely external descriptive treatment of religion, however expert. Such a form of presentation limits excessively the wrestling with values and life options which education should offer the student. When it comes to the social sciences and political studies our colleges do not hesitate to present persuasively the issues of the American democratic faith. Why should the teaching of religion be restricted to a cautious balcony view? Germinal education requires the inside view and controversial vividness, with all the risks involved.

I do not mean that religion should be taught sentimentally or by men bent on indoctrination, or that there need be a separately organized department of religion, or that religion should be taught in isolation from related fields in the arts and sciences. Moreover, my plea is only justifiable in higher education if the religious subject matter is offered in a form open to critical examination and scientific method. But this has long been the case in our best college departments of religion. Where exceptions arise, or where presuppositions appear too clearly in the teacher, these cases should not deter us any more than we are deterred by analogous elements of dogmatism in other departments of arts and sciences. In all areas of college instruction the danger of authoritarian indoctrination should be controlled by policy in appointment and by the intellectual morale of the campus, not by excluding controversial subject matter from the curriculum.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

History and the Distrust of Knowledge

by Bernard Bailyn

IN THIS lively and polemical book on the colonial period of American history, Daniel Boorstin, Professor of American History in the University of Chicago, tells a story that is highly relevant to contemporary concerns. Too relevant, perhaps; for the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the book flow from the author's urgent desire to link the past in all detail to the present, to make each episode yield direct meaning. Thus on the one hand there is vividness and vigor in the writing, and originality in the selection and analysis of topics in cultural history; but on the other hand there is a continuous foreshortening of the history presented, a disconcerting bobbing from then to now.

The Americans: The Colonial Experience, by Daniel J. Boorstin (Random House; $6.)

The relevance Mr. Boorstin seeks has a special character. The colonial period provides necessary support for a view of American life he has been arguing now for several years. *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* is, in fact, a 400-page footnote to *The Genius of American Politics* written six years ago.

In that book Mr. Boorstin argued that not only has America lacked a political theory but that the success of our public institutions has rested upon this very lack. Far from noting with alarm America's failure to produce "a political philosopher . . . or a systematic theoretical work" to rank with Europe's best, Mr. Boorstin rejoiced in our avoidance of "extravagant and presumptuous speculations," "blueprints for remaking society." Born in a "revolution without dogma," bred in "the spirit of compromise," our political life defies system, theory, and logic; those who think otherwise can only be seeing America through the dilated eyes of European intellectuals who cannot understand the nice, necessary balance between the "marvelous success and vitality of our institutions" and "the amazing poverty and inarticulateness of our theorizing about politics."

The purpose of the present work is to prove the rightness of this interpretation.

From the very first of our history, he argues, the unique American environment, social as well as physical, has defeated all efforts to live by a system or to reform the condition of life by deducing social theory from principles and applying it. The New England Puritans, he argues, did not really attempt to create from theology a religious utopia: hence their success as community builders. Lacking "the speculative vigor of English Puritanism," they lived a down-to-earth religion of action. In view of their passion "to build Zion on this earth . . . it is remarkable that there was so little of the Utopian in their thinking." Their orthodoxy was "sterile of speculative thought."

The Pennsylvania Quakers, on the other hand, were truly devoted to the precision of dogma, Mr. Boorstin writes. In fact, these sticky literalists were so blinded to "the most obvious facts" by their "preoccupation with their principles" that they went down in defeat before the blows of actuality when in 1756 they withdrew from the Assembly rather than compromise their pacifism. Similarly, the Georgia settlers "suffered from the fact that they were in the hands of benefactors [pursuing] an abstract purpose"; the colony began to prosper only when the proprietors gave up their plan for an ideal community.

How different, Mr. Boorstin con-

The Mind is an Ancient and Famous Capital

(Passage from *The Studies of Narcissus*)

THE MIND is a city like London,
Smoky and populous: it is a capital
Like Rome, ruined and eternal,
Marked by the monuments of ages which no one
Now remembers. For the mind, like Rome, contains
Catacombs, aqueducts, amphitheatres, palaces,
Churches and equestrian statues, fallen, broken or soiled;
The mind possesses and is possessed by all the ruins
Of every haunted hunted generation's celebration.

"Call us what you will: we are made such by love,"
We are such studs as dreams are made on, and
Our lives are ruled by gods, by Pan,
Piping of all, and seeking to grasp or grasping
All of the grapes; and by the bow-and-arrow god,
Cupid, piercing the heart through, suddenly and forever:
Dusk we are: to dusk returning, after the burning,
After the gold fall, the fallen ash, the bronze,
Scattered and rotten, after the white null statues which
Are winter, sleep, and nothingness: when
Will the houselights of the universe
Light up and blaze?
For it is not the sea
Which murmurs in a shell,
And it is not only the heart, at harp o'clock,
It is the dread terror of the hooves of the uncontrollable
Horses of the apocalypse, running away in wild dread
Toward Arcturus—and returning wildly and as suddenly. . . .

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

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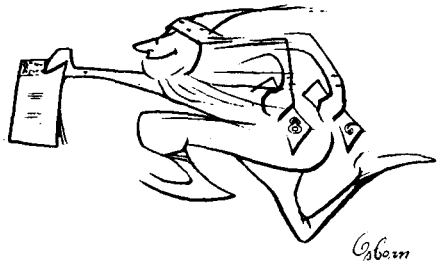
tinues, was Virginia's history in the Eighteenth Century. Here, if there were mistakes they were "mistakes of men of affairs rather than of visionaries, reformers, or revolutionaries." Free from "violent passion inspiring men to rebuild Zion or to make a City of Brotherly Love" they enjoyed a religion of "quietly pervasive sentiment," immune "to the dramatic appeal of extremists." To the Virginians, "the bookish prospectuses of English or French political theorists" were irrelevant, and the fact that they had "no particular genius for the abstractions of closet-philosophy . . . was to prove one of their greatest strengths." They lived not by "corrosive absolutes" but by "sentiments." Thus they found the good life. Slavery? By "sharp contrast" it probably increased "the value they placed on their individual liberties."

FROM these four examples, which together comprise over one third of the book, Mr. Boorstin derives a moral for our time. The history of the colonial period warns us against "garret-spawned European illuminati like Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler," for our unique achievements have rested upon a distrust of abstract thought, upon the dislodgement from influence of an intellectual elite, and upon the belief that "a man's mind was wholesome not when it possessed the most refined implements for dissecting and ordering all knowledge, but when it was most sensitive to the unpredicted whisperings of environment."

On these grounds, at least, no charge of unwholesomeness can be brought against Mr. Boorstin, for his book is more a sensitive reaction to the unpredicted whisperings of our present political climate than it is a result of the careful dissecting, ordering, and interpreting of knowledge. Of knowledge Mr. Boorstin has a staggering quantity, as his 46 double-columned pages of bibliography indicate; and those who are familiar with his earlier writings, especially his dissection of Blackstone's *Commentaries,* will know the intellectual refinement of which he is capable. But seeking in history proof of the necessity and immemorial rightness of his present political views, he has sketched a colorful, occasionally brilliant, but lopsided image of the past. The wonder of the Puritans was not their failure to produce a theologian of first rank, but the extent to which a passion for theology was shared by them. Georgia's early history does indeed demonstrate the failure of a philanthropic utopia, but would it have worked any better in Devonshire, in Provence, or in the Ukraine? There is nothing unique in the capacity of the American environment to defeat Utopian planning. And if Mr. Boorstin does not think the "distant example and abstract teachings of the European Enlightenment" were central to the political thought and action of Eighteenth-Century Virginians, Thomas Jefferson did.

The theme and tone of this first section, on the four colonies, are carried over into the remaining parts. Mr. Boorstin introduces to the reader an American concept of knowledge born in the colonial period; it was based not "on the monumental accomplishments of the few" but "on the novel, accreting ways of the many." "The American did not need to begin with explicit premises or with precise definitions and propositions; he began with the first novelty that came to his attention." The alterations in professional life Mr. Boorstin skillfully traces are used to demonstrate the progress that resulted from the destruction of intellectual elites and from imprecision of thought. He praises the superiority of "crude, fluid experience" over "the conceit of learned specialists," and argues that Franklin's scientific achievement was a "triumph of naïveté over learning."

In the course of writing an extraordinary apologia for his disillusioned conservatism, Mr. Boorstin has brought a vigor into historical thinking which all those interested in American history will appreciate. But the historical vindication of the distrust of knowledge and of the mind presented by so learned an intellectual as Mr. Boorstin will appeal to another public whose intellectual poverty is at least a sign of consistency, and who will, no doubt, fail to recognize that Mr. Boorstin's book is itself a refutation of the theory it proposes.



This Christmas give The New Republic

Sufficient Unto the Day

by Gilbert A. Harrison

HOW GENEROUS of Simon and Schuster to give those of us with a taste for Herblock this Christmas feast of 430 cartoons and 30,000 words. One a day satisfies, but how pleasant to be able to turn the pages of a book and find almost forgotten favorites and the few we've missed in the newspapers. We say to ourselves, as we said throughout the year, "How does he keep it up?". For Herblock proves that mass production does not compel mediocrity.

Herblock's Special For Today (Simon and Schuster; $3.95).

The book's title is apt. "Each day," he tells us in his text, "there are too many events for just one picture." His problem is not what to say, it is what to leave unsaid. Herblock is a journalist, fascinated by *right now*. "Odd as it may seem," he writes.

> . . . The cartoons I do—even with all the faces and physical exaggerations in them—are not essentially personal. And I don't really care how charming or forbidding characters may be as individuals. Where public figures are shown, they are nearly always related to some current situation—some issue that they're dealing with, or that I think they *should* be dealing with.

The *should* is important; there's a wide, fine prophetic streak in Herblock. He doesn't thunder or summon to crusades

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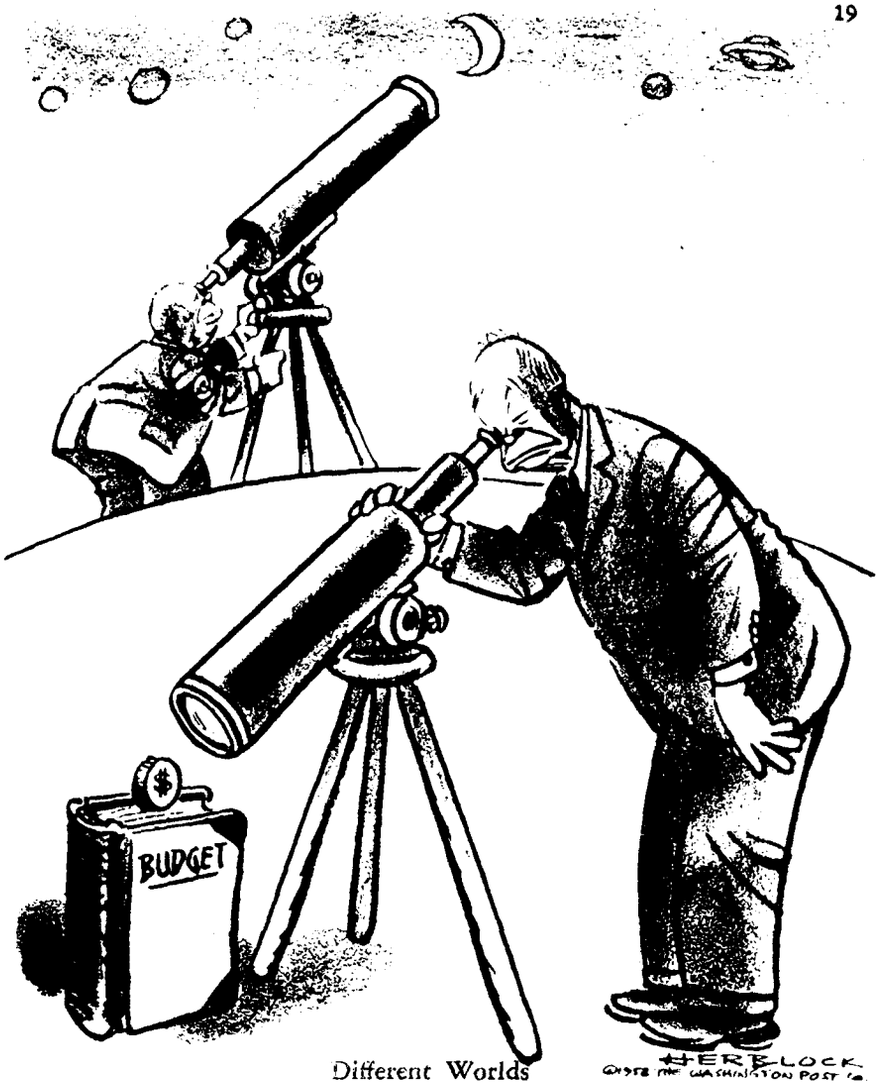
(he's cool to crusades), but he's on the lookout for any injustice. He wins all the prizes there are to win, and remains uncynical, unspoiled, almost boyish. His indignation is never mean, perhaps not even boiling: The human race is pretty sweet after all. Even his caricatures of Dulles, Nixon, Nasser or Khrushchev are more comical than evil. But never let it be said that he stands aside, or even in the middle. He is anything but noncontroversial:

> Well, togetherness has become quite a thing in politics—particularly on Capitol Hill, where some Congressional Leaders have often seemed obsessed by a fear of sharp issues. And whenever members of both parties stand together—or lie down on the job together—somebody is going to notice how nicely they're getting along and say, This is real statesmanship. I don't want to seem like a surly fellow, but I think this kind of thing can be overdone. Bipartisanship can be a dandy thing, and I wouldn't be the one to spur partisans to general bloodletting for the pure joy of clouting each other around. But I think there's something to be said for apartness, particularly when the rest of the boys are toasting their togetherness with sleeping potions.

His way of looking at life is not that of a David Low: Low doesn't make us laugh; he leaves us more shaken than amused. Herb looks at the politicians and says: aren't they silly, aren't they inconsistent. He feels his way toward a point of view: one imagines that he comes to his conclusion an instant after he has considered the question. His is not often, like Low's, the timeless comment. Herblock would admire but not draw the kind of cartoon Low did during World War II, in which a booted, shouting, daring Hitler stands on the little finger of a mammoth hand stretching out from the heavens. It is captioned: "You May Have Begun Man—But I, Adolf Hitler, Will Finish Him."

No, Herblock is "Special for Today." His favorite is John Q. Public, starring in a Charlie Chaplin comedy. John Q. is always bewildered, and asking what's going on here. To describe Herb's political attitudes—and he is political throughout—is to define that cluster of opinions which has the label "liberal." It is irremediably hopeful (though dissatisfied), skeptical of "special interests," windbag oratory, slicked-up speeches



Different Worlds

(particularly if they're Republican), uneasy about H-Bombs and the Cold War (but anti-Communist), and always wondering why *somebody* (usually the President) doesn't *do* something — about schools, billboards, Faubus, etc. Where the best cartoons of Fitzpatrick of *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* seemed to have been carved out of great slabs of stone, Herb's are of quicksilver; they never stand still. The cartoonist can hardly wait—until tomorrow.

Courageous isn't the word for him. He seems never to have been tempted to do anything but what he does. His response is predictable and uncompromising. The complacencies of the Eisenhower era have left him unconvinced that all is well, as the hysteria of the McCarthy era left him unconvinced that "disloyalty" endangered the nation.

But for all the vigor and clarity of his view, the remarkable thing is his gentleness. There's poor old Eisenhower, a nice man, naïve, bumbling, never there when the dinner bell rings. He's standing beside Niagara watching Lady Peace rushing toward the falls in a boat marked "Middle East Situation"; he tips his hat to her. He is on the bow of a ship, looking down on the drowning figure of a "School bill," toward which he tosses a funeral wreath and the comment, "Nobody Can Say I Wouldn't Do Something For Him." Dressed as a Fire Chief, he stares out the window at a house in flames ("Civil Rights Crisis"), and he says to Uncle Sam, "Tsk, Tsk, Somebody Should Do Something About That." Or he rides happily in a helicopter, while below the advocates and enemies of immigration, civil rights, trade, education are slugging it out with clubs, knives and fists.

"The impression has somehow been getting around," Herb says, "that the right to know is too good for the common people; that human freedom and human welfare are not good enough objectives for government." That is not the impression anyone can get from the cartoons of Herblock.

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Recipes of Alice B. Toklas

by Janet Flanner

Aromas and Flavors of Past and Present is a remarkable new cook book with a split personality, containing two hundred precisely detailed and delicious recipes by the famous Miss Alice B. Toklas of Paris, accompanied by useful annotations by Mrs. Poppy Cannon of *House Beautiful,* which will often help the American kitchennette gourmet to avoid the bother of cooking anything like as well as Miss Toklas. As Mrs. Cannon states in the preface, at first Miss Toklas disagreed with her on practically everything, "particularly my basic belief that it is possible to be an epicure, even a cook-epicure, in a hurry." Though Miss Toklas, as their gastronomic relations progressed, became a belated enthusiast for the time-saving electric blender, she still holds out for the more tedious fresh French forms of *les matières premières,* disdaining quick-frozen vegetables and flesh on principle and on taste. This forces Mrs. Cannon, as for instance in Miss Toklas's recipe for fresh artichokes à la Catherine de Medici which calls for "three cups ground raw pigeon breasts" to suggest *sotto voce,* in italics, that you may substitute quick-frozen chicken breasts" and even quick-frozen artichoke hearts.

Aromas and Flavors of the Past and Present, by Alice B. Toklas (Harper; $3.50).

For the Toklas oyster-plant recipe Mrs. Cannon pluckily says that though a vegetable rare in the USA it appears regularly in seed catalogs "and is not too difficult to grow," presumably if you take a couple of months time off before lunch. And where Miss Toklas persistently indicates olive oil for cooking her recipes, Mrs. Cannon, for once sounding French, says it is expensive and usually substitutes peanut oil. It is true that this *huile arachide,* (which mostly came from Algeria till the rebel war started) is indeed general in French restaurants today though never present on Miss Toklas's epicurean table in the rue Christine.

From this cook book two utterly different vistas of food preparation emerge. There is first the picture of Miss Toklas which somehow includes around her Miss Gertrude Stein's Picasso paintings, to which she occasionally lifts her dark reminiscent eyes, while pursuing her treasured procedures for metamorphosis, masterly from fifty years of practice, by which she patiently creatively changes what is edible into a borrowed French gustatory art. Then there is the other picture, the efficient color photograph of the American food processes, canned or frozen for eternity as matters of hasty convenience, presided over by Mrs. Cannon with her eye on the clock, as the epicure-cook in a successful hurry.

After the soup recipes including a Provençal Soup au Pistou, a rapidly-made filling concoction fine for Sunday night supper which includes cabbage, garlic, basil, Parmesan cheese and elbow macaroni, there are cocktail pastry inventions such as Savoury Biscuits that contain curry, Mimi Cake which is like a bannock, made exclusively of flour, cream and salt, and quick Cheese Delicieuses, containing pepper and nutmeg. The odd egg dishes make your mouth water, just to read about them.

In the fish line are novelties like shrimp with orange and dill, mussels with saffron, a really great salmon soufflé and the authentic recipe for quenelles, (use perch if you cannot get pike). There is a Christmas Eve Estoufat, traditional in Provence after midnight mass, a proper masterpiece of fat pork, beef buttocks, brandy and red wine. Meat Loaf in My Fashion, a Toklas invention, refined as a paté, is the best we personally have ever eaten anywhere. We also highly recommend her Fried Spring Chicken Flambé in Cognac, served with oyster sauce and truffles. We must cite her Extravagant Mashed Potatoes which demand one pound of butter, also her startling delicious Green Mashed Potatoes, containing parsley, water cress and fresh basil leaves.

There is naturally a chapter on correct classic French sauces, on cooking with brandy, on cakes and cookies and finally on desserts. One, with iced cooked peaches, figs, kirsh and cream she describes as pure Essence of Arabian Nights. There is one called A Splendid Avocado Sherbet, "very good washed down with champagne." But we still long to taste for the first time her Chinese Ice cream, one of Miss Toklas's favorites, esteemed for its subtlely, composed only of eggs, cream, honey and green walnuts. "To get green walnuts," Mrs. Cannon notes, helpfully, "you should have access to a walnut tree."

Almost a President

by Frank B. Freidel

"MY HEAD is with the progressives in the Democratic Party," Woodrow Wilson once told his secretary, Joseph Tumulty, "but my heart, because of the way they stood by me, is with the so-called Old Guard. They stand without hitching." In the Progressive era, Byrnes was scarcely one of the Old Guard; during the New Deal he was closely associated with conservative Southern Democrats. But both President Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt profited from his usefulness: he stood without hitching.

All in One Lifetime, by James F. Byrnes (Harpers; $5).

Throughout his career, Byrnes has been politically regular, loyal to his party through thick and thin. In the best sense of the term, he has been a professional politician. He rapidly learned the profession after he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1910. Communication with South Carolina was still poor enough so that he did not have to devote much time to demands of his constituents; issues do not seem to have been particularly important in most of his campaigns for re-election. He was not overimpressed by mail inspired by pressure groups; the opinions of party and Congressional leaders were more important to him. He could concentrate upon committee work, attendance on the floor of the House, and mastery of the techniques in personal relations through

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which an ambitious, industrious Representative can build power in the House. It was this personal network of loyalties which made it possible for him on occasion to win the needed doubtful votes for the passage of a measure. From 1911 to 1925, Byrnes built such a network in the House; in 1931 when he entered the Senate, preceded by numerous old friends from the House, he was in a strong position to influence legislation.

For realistic reasons, Byrnes was one of the earliest supporters of Roosevelt for President, and from the beginning of the New Deal, one of the most effective of his lieutenants in Congress. In his thinking, Byrnes was a moderate. During the Progressive era, his most notable contribution was the promotion of bills initiating federal subsidies to states for the improvement of highways. During the early New Deal he was one of those relatively to the Right, like his friends Bernard Baruch, Carter Glass and Lew Douglas, who favored rigid government economies. Byrnes felt that the emergency justified special measures, but he did not wish to see them become permanent. But while many of Roosevelt's earlier, more conservative supporters had left him by 1937, Byrnes remained loyal even through the fight to reform the Supreme Court.

As the war crisis approached, Byrnes was able to enlist the votes of many Congressional conservatives for Roosevelt's defense measures. The President appointed him to the Supreme Court, but after Pearl Harbor found him useful in drafting war legislation and tempering the raw winds from Capitol Hill. Byrnes also tried to counter inflationary pressures from both business and labor when he served as Economic Stabilizer and later as Director of War Mobilization. He gathered into his organization a number of ardent New Dealers like Ben Cohen.

After the death of Roosevelt, Byrnes served as Secretary of State in the Truman Administration—an experience which he has described more fully and with richer quotation in *Speaking Frankly*. In the 1950's, as Governor of South Carolina he was responsible for the building of numerous new schools for Negro children, intended to make a reality of the "separate but equal" credo of his state.

Throughout his mature years, Byrnes's relative conservatism has been modified in each period of crisis by the sort of political realism which led him to accept New Deal measures. During his many years in Washington he was dedicated to promoting the welfare of his party nationally, reacting to liberal pressures when the well-being of the Democrats demanded it. A slightly different turn in political maneuvers at the time of the 1944 Democratic convention could have brought him the nomination for Vice President, and he would have capped his career not as Governor of South Carolina but as President of the United States. Had Byrnes become President in April, 1945, quite possibly he would not have altered materially the course American history has followed since then.

In the New Deal days, Byrnes writes, "We still had many topsoil roads—arched center with ditches on each side. In rough weather the motorist tried hard to avoid the ditches by staying in the middle of the road. I thought of myself in the Senate as a conservative liberal trying to restrain the extremists of the Right and the Left." As President, this would have been his strength and his limitation. He certainly would have remained hitched in the Democratic harness and have stayed out of the ditches, but he would have gone no further down the road than party policy demanded.

MOVIES

Artist's Artist

ANYONE who has tried it knows the surest way to outrage a painter: ask him what he thinks of the portrayals of painters in novels, plays and films. *Lust for Life*, novel or film, is a certain foam-producer, but even Maugham and Zola do not satisfy the painter. He may never be satisfied, for the fundamental reason that the mind that translates life into words is organized differently from the mind that translates it into colors and shapes—not only differently but basically irreconcilably, as any editor who deals with designers about book jackets has learned.

The Horse's Mouth (United Artists).

Still, possibly out of envy, writers continue to try to understand the painting process from the inside out. The most celebrated example in this generation is Joyce Cary's novel, *The Horse's Mouth*, the latter life and wryly difficult times of a ribald contemporary English painter named Gulley Jimson. Perhaps derived in part from the gruff Turner and the salty Augustus John, Jimson conveyed to many readers (always excepting painters) what it is like to spend your life battling or ignoring or laughing at a world intrinsically uninterested in painting.

The last thing the book suggested was that it would make a film, and the appearance of the film confirms that reaction. The picture, in good Technicolor, has been done with taste and intelligence and it presents an excellent performance by Alec Guinness, but on balance it must be accounted unsuccessful. Could it have been anything else? The novel, in staccato, seemingly random form, gives us episodes, reflections, aversions and predilections that combine to make a portrait of a character who, as such, would appeal to any actor. And Guinness, who wrote his own adaptation, knows as well as anybody that a portrait is not a play and has attempted to transmute the novel into dramatic form. But it remains immutable. The script is only a rag-bag of adventures, some of them quite funny, a few of them touching, but all of them, it seems to me, worried by the necessity of being dramatic and by the incomplete effort to achieve this. The strain, on Writer Guinness' part, to render Cary's study in *motion*, leads to excesses; for example, the sequence in which Jimson and his friends take over the Beeders' luxurious apartment is pushed to incredible extremes in order to give the camera something extraordinary to record. A hunger for pace leads to a breathless inconclusiveness; we never learn, for instance, how the Beeders reconciled themselves to the damage to their apartment.

But—and it is the antithesis that makes this picture worth anybody's time—out of this welter of enforced activity

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and splintery ends emerges Actor Guinness' performance. If Writer G. has not fashioned an organic screenplay, he has at least hewn out a fine, flashy part for himself. Actor G.'s Jimson is a superb creation, a wonderfully cranky, disillusioned enthusiast who knows that the battle-lines are drawn forever, that the artist is always on the ostensibly losing side but only ostensibly, and who wouldn't change sides for anything. With a hitchy, little jerky stride, a shrewd, measuring eye, and a gravelly, gin-soaked voice, Jimson enters full-blown—through a prison gate, incidentally. Guinness doesn't proceed to create him for us; as with the best acting, Jimson *is*, from the moment he appears. We know immediately that he is a human being with a history, who was mis-educated and re-educated, who aspires, gets knocked, and re-aspires, whose soul soars and whose clothes probably stink. He has existed, for sixty years or so; his entrance is merely the point at which we pick him up.

By now, of course, Guinness has something extra working for him when he steps before us; in addition to his present work, we are aware—consciously or otherwise—of the difference between his newest part and his past creations. Not many contemporary actors, even good ones, are capable of or are allowed to demonstrate comparable versatility. Jimson is enhanced by our remembrance of the colonel in *The River Kwai*, Fagin, *The Lavender Hill Mob*, the entire family Guinness played in *Kind Hearts and Coronets*. Against that background we admire him additionally.

Yet, Guinness' endowment and career have, I think, shortcomings. He doesn't have in him the depths of hell into which the cardinal in *The Prisoner* should have descended. Occasionally he attempts exercises in public; he should have kept *Father Brown* for his friends. He has virtually no sex appeal, which fact vitiated *The Captain's Paradise*. Still he has a wide range, and he obviously conceives of the actor in the delightful old-fashioned sense: as a man who enacts many different kinds of people.

Kay Walsh is first-rate as Coker, Jimson's plain, puritanical but devoted friend. Renee Houston, the queen of the English music halls, plays Sarah Monday, Jimson's ex-wife, and wins us like a music-hall performer—by the ability to project an engaging personality rather than by acting skill. The paintings that are supposedly Jimson's were made by the English artist John Bratby, and if they are somewhat less sensual than we might have expected Jimson's to be, they are suitably anarchic and forceful.

Though in sum this leaves us unsatisfied, it has some strong satisfactions in it. One of them is saved for the very end: After undergoing one more triumph-defeat (an abandoned church for which he has designed a great mural is demolished), Jimson unmoors his rackety houseboat and floats down the Thames. He doesn't steer; he sits grandly in an arm-chair on deck and lets the world sidle by. As he passes under Tower Bridge, his last words ring in our ears—Chesterton's robust, roast-beef lines which he has quoted as envoi:

> For there is good news yet to hear and fine things to be seen
> Before we go to Paradise by way of Kensal Green.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

TELEVISION

Let Them Play Games

ED MURROW raised his grave and lonely voice a few weeks ago to call television executives "money-minded nabobs [who use] television to distract, delude and insulate the public." He suggested that at the bottom of the television mess is an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news, that sets salesmen to judging drama and artists to selling soap. The conflict repeatedly raises troublesome moral issues, which now and then the networks try to face.

A recent occasion was the UN meetings on the Middle East. The networks pre-empted a good deal of expensive time to do what they saw as their public duty. There is no record of how many millions watched and were strengthened in their ability to think and act as free men. But there is a record of several hundred phone calls and letters that were fairly summed up in one petulant female voice.

"This is terrible," it said, "Give us back our games."

The men who run television are all attention and raw nerve ends, and a couple of hundred letters like these set off a sharp sense of ingratitude. It is what they are skilled in; sensing an illiterate scrawl from Texarkana as a message from the heart of America. "Sure he's a paranoid idiot, but he eats our groats and he watches the show. Give him what he wants." It is this notion of democracy against which the issue of the lady's missing games was tested. In time, Robert Sarnoff, Chairman of the Board of NBC, spoke.

"You can argue," he said, "that every citizen of America *should* be interested in following developments that could effect their lives. . . . But can you argue that it is wise to eliminate all freedom of choice?" He wondered if a way could be found to rotate the task of public service, so that, for example, if NBC covered the UN this time around, CBS could have a possible war on Quemoy, and ABC take the next school riots after that, and then it would be NBC's turn again. And as crisis and disaster struck down all around her, the lady could play games, on another network.

What Sarnoff seems to suggest is that there is a right to be entertained, which must be weighed against public service. This is nonsense, like arguing that interrupting a neighbor to tell him his house is burning is denying him his freedom of choice to find it out for himself. But the whole issue is phony anyway. The networks feel it is not their place to determine what people should see, and that democratic television is to give people what they want. They ignore their own commercial policy which does not

Notes on Contributors

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give people what they want, but whatever they will accept that will also sell soap.

The advertising people refer to the policy as "engineering an atmosphere of acceptance," a phrase that makes Hollywood's straightforward avarice seem refreshing. It certainly has nothing to do with democracy.

The endless games, the senseless westerns and sadistic private eyes and drivelling soap opera are not merely incompetent or tasteless or phony, but actively corrosive of public morals. There are children of thirteen who have spent an entire year of their lives accepting vicarious experience through television. In a few more years, if we don't slip off any brinks, revivals of documentaries and dramas set in combat will be their only experience of war. By network rules they will never learn that generals can be wrong, enemies brave, that men die needlessly, and die in agony. If history embarrasses a sponsor, history will yield. Last month—to raise only an instance that got into print—Desilu Playhouse had a script rewritten because it suggested the services had been less than vigilant at Pearl Harbor. And why indeed should Westinghouse pay $100,000 for an entertainment that might irritate generals, who are also fine customers?

The native rebelliousness of Americans is dwindling down to juvenile delinquency and taking the Fifth Amendment; the trend toward identifying authority with right is reflected in the morals of the mythical world of television. Television police, for example, commit aggravated assault in line of duty, but never make the mistake of hitting the wrong man, or hitting him so hard he dies. The high school generation who have watched good cops smashing bad citizens for ten years seems to have formed some disturbing ideas about civil rights. A survey last year showed 58 percent believed police should be allowed to torture suspects to make them tell the truth. One wonders if television, which set out in good faith to follow the trend and offend no one, has not accelerated and reinforced it. And now leads our children in a mood of passive acceptance into utter unreality. It is unimaginable that matters of such importance can be left to engineers of acceptance.

Scheduling six days of games for the weary and witless and Sunday afternoon for civilization is no answer, and neither is dragging in false issues of democracy and freedom of choice in programming when none is being offered. Ultimately, the engineers must be removed from the controls; the incompatible combination must be divorced. The operation will not be quite as painful as the industry now believes. What is really needed is some healthy competition for sponsored television. In Britain, commercial time is sold as magazines sell ad space, thus isolating sponsors from writers and producers, who may go on being dull, tasteless and wrong, but not as a matter of policy. Pay-TV is the other obvious step, that should make it possible to offer ballet, opera, serious drama, to an enormous audience who currently pay a form of tax for television every time they buy food and cigarets, and get no representation to speak of.

This is the real way to democracy in television—not by grinding out endless hours of slyly contrived fun for a mythical mass mind, but by offering variety for everyone to choose from. Including the overwhelming majority who do not accept Lawrence Welk.

FRANK R. PIERSON

Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

nal and the *Chicago Tribune*. But the quotation above, I note with regret, is from T.R.B.'s column of Nov. 24.

Even Secretary Benson knows better than this. He has pointed out that the total budget of the Department of Agriculture includes many services that benefit consumers and the public generally far more than agriculture. Examples: school lunch and school milk programs; forest service; meat inspection service. About half a billion goes in loans to Rural Electrification and Farmers Home Administration. Repayment history on these loans is excellent. There will be losses on crop loans, of course, but T.R.B.'s statement assumes a loss of 100 percent.

DONALD R. MURPHY
Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead

Des Moines

► *Man on a Trapeze?*

SIRS:

T. R. B. quotes William Lawrence, to the effect that 1960 will be Nixon's only chance at the Presidential trapeze. It seems to me that both of these gentlemen underestimate the durability of their subject. If he misses the trapeze on either swing in 1960, I would have thought he would be a natural candidate for Governor of California in 1962, by which time he will have attained the age of 49. While it seems to be true that the Vice Presidency has become a possible spot from which to run for President—largely because of Mr. Nixon's own efforts—there is certainly a massive tradition to the effect that gubernatorial office in a major state is the favored point of departure.

PAUL T. DAVID

Washington, D. C.

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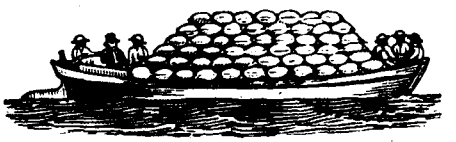

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